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AUTHOR Strid, Jan
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ABSTRACT

This paper analyzes the attitudes of three Swedish trade unions toward the press. Local representatives of the unions answered a questionnaire about their contact with the local press, the press's impact on public opinion, fairness of press reporting, the press's fulfillment of its duties in informing the public, and future control of mass media. The discussion concludes that the trade unions consider the local press important but are dissatisfied with the way the press works, that the press reflects what is going on in the top echelons of society and among the decision-makers, and that more communication is needed between local citizens, their organizations, and the society's decision-makers. An appendix contains a list of geographic regions explored in the study, lists some characteristics of daily newspapers published in those regions, and includes the questions that were asked of local union representatives. (RL)

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TRADE UNIONS

ABOUT

THE PRESS

Jan Strid

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Paper prepared for the European Consortium for political Research
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Introduction

The background of this paper should be seen as a part of a research programme at the Institute of Political Science, University of Göteborg (Sweden). The purpose of the programme is to analyse the political role of the Swedish massmedia system. The programme was originally initiated by the Royal Commission on the press 1972 in Sweden but this type of research has a long tradition within the institute.

The research programme which is called Pressens Funktioner (The functions of the press in society) works on different levels. It has included surveys with local citizens and local journalists, content analyses of newspapers and radio news and interviews with local decision-makers and questionnaires to political organizations, local authorities and industry.

Four regions in Sweden was selected for the research: two cities, one town and one local area. (Appendix.)

This paper deals with one specific area: How a group outside the traditionally defined political sphere looks upon the press in reference to the existing mass media ideology which can be derived from many sources, among them the Swedish Royal Commission on the press published in 1975.

The problem

The demands traditionally put upon the press and fundamentally accepted by the press can be briefly stated:

1. To supply the political system with information, debate et cetera

2. To give information to the citizens
3. To be a check on the government and local authorities
4. To serve the economic system
(bring buyers and sellers together)
5. To give entertainment

The interest will here be concentrated upon: 1. How are these demands on the press taken care of? and 2. What other demands are put forward?

To answer these two questions, among others, the research project "Pressens Funktioner" has interviewed leading spokesmen for political parties, local authorities, industries, trade unions and religious organizations. The main purpose of this paper is to show how local representatives for the three biggest trade unions look upon these matters.

The trade unions interviewed are LO, TCO and SACO:

LO (Landsorganisationen) is the labour trade union. It was founded in 1898 and is closely related to the Social Democratic Party and its press. Today LO has about two million members.

TCO (Tjänstemännens Centralorganisation) is the biggest white collar trade union. It was founded in 1937 through merging smaller organizations. TCO has not been closely related to any particular political party, though its members have earlier voted for the Liberal Party and has at least earlier been positively looked upon by the liberal press.

SACO (Sveriges Akademikers Centralorganisation) is a white collar trade union founded in 1947. SACO has recruited its members among white collars with an academic background. It has no closer relations to any party or press but has, I think its fair to say, better relations to the right wing party and press than the other trade unions. SACO has about 150 thousand members.

Before I comment upon the interviews I will give a short presentation of how the press material concerning the economic sphere has developed throughout the 20th century.

Historical background

To get a perspective on the relation - press and trade unions - I will start by giving a brief historical background of the news contents in the daily press concerning material from the economic life and its actors. These data are mainly gathered from "Världsbildsprojektet" a mass media projekt at the institute of Political Science at the University of Göteborg. It consists of a collected data set with twelve-years interval from 1912 to 1972. Why I start with this historical background is partly because some questions in the interview relates to earlier period and that it puts the work in a historical framework.

News material in the daily press concerning the economic sphere

The historical background will treat contents that can be referred to economy and labour market. It has been defined in the projekt "Pressens Funktioner" as "Events in industry; production (business and labour market) and consumption (living standard et cetera)".

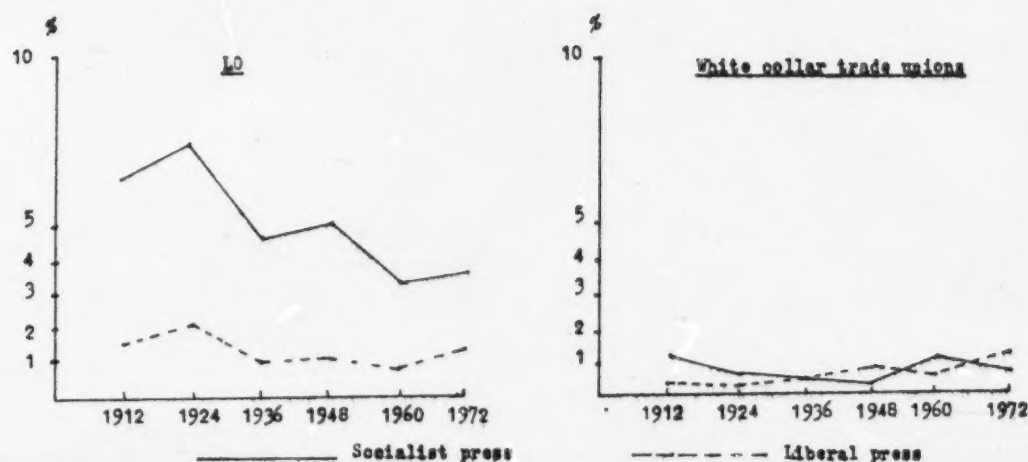
In the content analysis which has been carried out by the projekt from 1974 we found that about 25 percent of the total news volume in the press referred to economy and labour market. The figure below shows how much of the total news volume this material has been given from 1912 to 1972. Here we can also see the volume concerning trade unions and privat industry.

Figure 1.



The diagram shows how the share (in percent) of the economic and labour market material decreases from 1912 to 1936 and then strongly increases from 1948 to 1960. At the same time we can see that the share concerning trade unions has been fairly constant while news about private industry has increased. When we compare Socialist press and Liberal press (regarding themselves as liberal) we find that news about the private industry has increased in both types of press. It increases more in Socialist press (from 3,3 % 1936 to 9,5 % 1972) than in Liberal press (from 4,8 % 1936, to 9,7 % 1972). We can thus conclude that the difference between Liberal and Socialist press decreases throughout the period. Can the same tendency be noticed if we split the material concerning the trade unions? In the diagrams below I have divided material referring to workers union and material concerning white collar unions.

Figure 2.



The diagram to the left illustrates that for material concerning the workers' union the difference decreases 1924. While the Liberal press has about the same amount of news about the workers' union the same material decreases in the Socialist press. The difference was biggest in 1924, 5,5 percent, and has then turned down to 2,5 percent. The shares of material about the white collar unions are almost the same over the period and the difference between Liberal and Socialist press are hardly noticeable.

It is very difficult to tell if these shares are big or small since you then will end up in a discussion about how much or little there should be but it can be interesting to study the increases and decreases. If we relate the development to the amount of members involved we must keep in mind that there is an increase of the number of employees at least up to the sixties. This also applies for members of the workers' trade union. We can then conclude that the curve over material about the workers' union (as the material in absolute figures) does not follow the curve of the members. Whether it follows any activity curve or not is hard to tell, but that the activity over time among the workers' union should decrease so drastically as the curve over contents in the Socialist press is not likely. The explanation, I think, is a change in the evaluation of news in the Socialist press. When they were trying

to reach readers outside the labour movement, in order to survive, they had to cut down the material from the trade unions and adjust to the evaluation of the Liberal press. (The Socialists have always been in minority as regards to the press and have today only about 20 percent of the daily press.)

So far we have found that the space given to trade union material in the press has decreased over the years compared to space given to private industry. We have also found that it is mainly in the Socialist press that this is noticeable.

The questionnaire

In the following part I will give a description of the answers from the local representatives of the three trade unions (LO, TCO and SACO). It reflects their opinions of how they find the mass media, and their relations to them. We have seen how material from this sector of society gets a bigger part of the newspaper contents. At the same time the parties in the economic life play a more important role in the Swedish society as a whole. It must therefore be in the interest of the trade unions to get their opinions and ideas out to the citizens. This can be done in many ways, the unions can take contact themselves with the mass media and they can make it easier for the media to come in contact with them. As the organizations grow it is more simple and cheaper to bring out information through newspapers, radio and television than to use their own medias and personal contacts even if the later is more efficient and plays a greater role, above all to the union members but also to the public.

Contacts with the press

For a start, the poll tells us that the trade union periodicals, local or national, are considered to be the best means of infor-

ming its members. Over 70 percent think so. Next in rank are study circles, circulars and similar local or national material. Only 13 percent mention advertising or articles in the local press. Still, the biggest trade union (LO) regards it more important than TCO and SACO.

Another situation occurs when you are to inform the public about the ideas and opinions held by the trade unions. The high costs limit the choice of media. Almost the only way here is to inform via the newspapers. In the table below you can see how important different ways are judged by the trade union spokesmen.

Table 1. Share of the representatives for each trade union who consider different ways of information very or rather important when it comes to inform the public about the ideas and opinions held by the trade union.

	LO	TCO	SACO
Very + rather important with local newspapers	69	56	27
Very + rather important with local advertising media	21	8	0
Very + rather important with regional radio	48	37	16
Very + rather important with regional television	37	15	12

Those who took part in the poll¹⁾ regard the local newspapers as the far most important way to inform the public. Even the regional broadcasts have high figures. That it has higher figures than the regional television is certainly not due to the medium per se but the fact that whereas the regional radio broadcasts between 45 and 60 minutes the regional television has only about ten minutes per day. The figures also confirm our earlier supposition: the bigger organization the greater is the importance of mass media.

1) The number of respondents on this and the following questions are LO = 140, TCO = 70 and SACO = 28.

Even if one considers newspapers important for informing the public of opinions and ideas held by the trade unions it seems as if they very rarely take contact with the media. Only 17 percent say that they ever use the most common way, namely to take personal contact with the editorial office more than six times per year. This should then be compared to other organizations interviewed, where almost one fourth say that they contact the editorial office more than six times per year. Further, eight percent say they send out periodicals, five percent sent records et cetera and less than one percent give press conferences more than six times per year. All figures are smaller than for other organizations interviewed. As shown before, LO, being the larger organization, considers the press the most important means of information and is also here more active. Three fourths of the SACO spokesmen say that they never use any of the alternatives.

The interest for trade unions

We have in the content analyses been able to ascertain that news material concerning trade unions have a fairly stable distribution over time in the daily newspapers (with the exception for LO in Socialist press). How then does the spokesmen for the trade unions experience this attention if they look back. We have asked if they think that the interest to inform about their opinions and ideas has increased or decreased over the last 5 to 10 years in the newspapers. It appears that half of the representatives have not noticed any difference, about 43 percent say that the interest has increased and only five percent that the interest of the newspapers to inform about trade unions has decreased. The only difference is that two thirds of SACO spokesmen say that the interest to inform has increased.

The answers seems to give a rather positive view of the press. 40 percent say that they have noticed an increase. But when we compare the answers given by the trade unions with answers given by

other organizations another picture appears. The other organizations have to a much higher degree noticed an increase. For example among the private industry representatives 82 percent have noticed an increase. In the table below the answers given by trade unions are compared with the answers given by some other organizations.

Table 2. Share (in percent) of some organization spokesmen who have noticed an increase, no difference, or a decrease in the interest of newspapers to inform about each organization.

	Trade unions	Political parties	Private industry	Churches	Other organizations	Local authorities
Interest increased	43	58	82	63	64	71
No difference	52	33	16	34	29	29
Interest decreased	5	9	2	3	7	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	238	281	122	62	115	94

It can be shown that even if the trade unions have noticed an increase they have done so to a much lesser degree than the others.

We have seen (on page 2) that news material concerning private industry has strongly increased over the last ten years which was not the case with material concerning trade unions. If we compare the answers with this "reality" they seem to fit. One can of course guess that the question invites to answers stating an increase. But the fact is that there has been an increase of material concerning all the organization listed above in the press and the least increase in material concerning trade unions.

The impact of the press on public opinion

In the sample we have two communities with monopoly on the daily press market, Göteborg with G-P (Göteborgs-Posten) and Västerås with VLT (Västmanlands Läns Tidning). In Göteborg there is also a special edition of Arbetet and an evening paper GT (Göteborgs-tidningen). GP, VLT and GT are Liberal and Arbetet is Socialistic. In Västerås we also have the Socialist weekly newspaper VF (Västmanlands Folkblad). We also have two communities with press competition, Malmö and Falun. In Malmö we have one Socialist paper, Arbetet and one Liberal morning paper SDS (Sydsvenska Dagbladet) and one Liberal evening paper KvP (Kvälls-Posten). In Malmö there is also one daily morning paper SkD (Skånska Dagbladet) with ideological bonds to the Centre Party (former the Farmers' Party) and economic bonds via the farmers' organizations. In Falun there is one Socialist paper DD (Dala-Demokraten) and one Liberal FK (Falu-Kuriren). Both are daily morning papers.

In the communities we have asked the local trade union representatives what they think about the impact of the local press on public opinion in political and economic matters. I will not in this paper comment upon the question as such but only say that there are of course problems in the interpretation of the word "impact on opinion". It is of course connected with the newspaper per se (circulation, volume et cetera) and with the relations between the trade unions and the paper. Nevertheless, we must keep these things in mind when we interpret the answers.

In table 3 we can see that on the average 83 percent of the respondents regard daily morning papers to have great or rather great impact on opinion. Greatest impact have the monopoly papers and the daily Socialistpapers. We can also see that the only daily "Centre Party paper" in comparison with the others has very low figures. Also the Socialist weeklies and the special edition of

Arbetet in Göteborg are regarded as having a little impact on public opinion. The latter newspaper have only 5 percent of the readers in Göteborg which can probably explain the low figure.

Table 3. Share of the respondents per community who say that the papers considered have great or rather great impact on public opinion when it comes to inform on economic and political matters.

Malmö	SDS	Arb.	KvP	SKD		LO	37	
Very great	16	29	14	2	N =	TCO	8	
Rather great	51	57	47	35		SACO	5	
						Total	50	
Göteborg	GP	Arb.	GT			LO	43	
Very great	62	10	9		N =	TCO	28	
Rather great	25	40	40			SACO	18	
						Total	89	
Västerås	VLT	VF				LO	41	
Very great	56	12			N =	TCO	20	
Rather great	38	27				SACO	4	
						Total	65	
Falun	FK	DD	MT			LO	19	
Very great	44	62	6		N =	TCO	14	
Rather great	41	32	15			SACO	1	
						Total	34	
							TOTAL	238

When we compare these figures with how other organizations have answered we can ascertain that the ideological closeness plays a great role. The answers ^{show} namely that LO overestimates the Socialist press and underestimates the Liberal press in comparison with the other organizations with the exception for the Social Democratic Party. Most obvious is this in Malmö where three times as many among the LO representatives as among the other trade unions say that Arbetet has greater impact on public opinion than SDS. Among the TCO spokesmen there is a slight tendency to regard SDS as the most powerful one, whereas SACO representatives consider them equally important. Similarly, in Falun, LO overestimates DD in comparison to other organizations. The difference to Malmö is here

that also TCO overestimates the Socialist paper. We must also keep in mind that in each region the Liberal paper (SDS and FK) have the bigger circulation.

In the monopoly communities, Göteborg and Västerås, we find the same tendencies. As we can see in table 3 a majority considers GP and VLT to have very great impact on public opinion. Other organizations interviewed also consider these two papers the greatest impact.

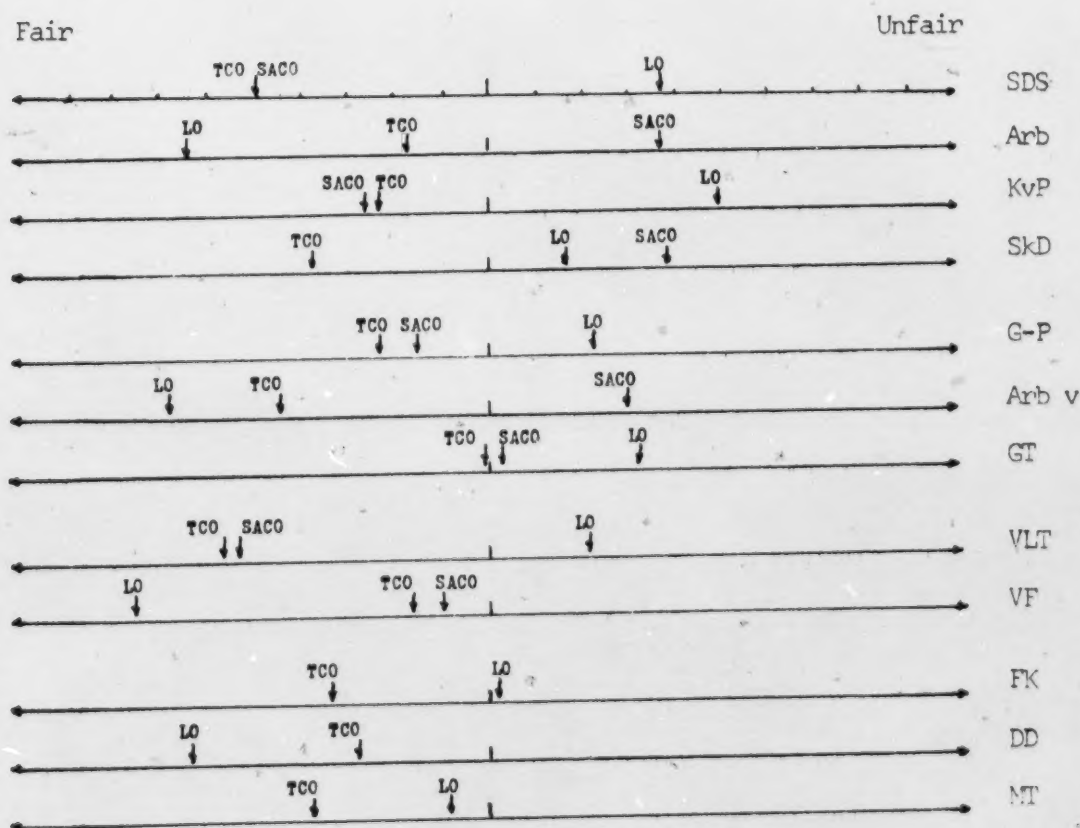
On other words, we can see that monopoly papers are considered by the trade unions to have the greatest impact on public opinion. In communities with a daily Socialist paper, these papers are considered by the trade unions with exceptions for SACO to have greater impact than the Liberal ones. SACO mean that the paper in general have less impact and considers the papers more alike. The Socialist papers have (and earlier to a greater extent than now) a greater interest in trade union questions. This is probably one of the reasons why they are considered to have so great impact on public opinion in matters concerning the society.

Fair picture.

How fair is the picture of the trade unions given by the press? Here the ideological and other bonds play an even greater role for the opinions than on the other questions. It is therefore possible that the trade unions answer more in perceived closeness than of perceived fair picture. I think however that these two questions are strongly correlated but one should be aware of the problem. One would then expect that LO consider the socialist papers as more fair than TCO and SACO do. The Liberal papers would then in the same way be considered more fair by TCO than by SACO and LO. This way of arguing is based upon what we said on page 1 and 2,

namely, that LO is more close to the Socialist paper, and TCO (at least earlier) more close to the Liberal. SACO is here somewhat outstanding but is regarded as standing more to the right in Swedish politics than the other two and should thus be more distant from the Socialist press than to the Liberal press.

Figure 3. The degree of fair picture given by the respective newspapers in reporting the opinions and ideas held by the trade unions perceived by the trade unions.



As we can see TCO is the only trade union which judges all newspapers in the sample as fair in varying degrees. LO considers the

Socialist papers as fair and the Liberal ones as mainly unfair while SACO is more critical than TCO to the Socialist papers and less positive to the Liberal ones.

If those figures are interpreted in terms of closeness, it is of course so that LO is more close to the Socialist papers and SACO is most distant from them. TCO on the other hand, is closer to certain papers independent of the papers political dependence.

We can also observe that it does not seem to play any role if the papers are edited in a monopoly or competition situation. But the material shows that the discontent is bigger among the trade unions with the newspapers in the bigger cities, Göteborg and Malmö, than with the newspapers in the smaller towns, Västerås and Falun.

In comparison with other organisations interviewed the trade unions are more critical to the Liberal papers and consider them more unfair than the other organizations do (with the exception for the Social Democratic Party and the Communist Party).

How are the tasks of the press fulfilled?

We have also put questions how the press fulfills the tasks shortly described in the introduction. The answers show that about 70 percent of the interviewed trade union representatives think that the press fulfills the demand to inform the public about decisions from the authorities and examine them critically wholly sufficiently or on the whole sufficiently. Even when it comes to the task of describing what is happening in politics the judgement is that this is carried out well. What the press does not so well is to inform the authorities about the wishes of the citizens and to explain and interpret what is happening in politics.

On the whole LO is the organization which is less satisfied with the press in these questions while both TCO and SACO are more satisfied. If we compare with other organizations we will find that the trade unions are more dissatisfied with the fulfillment of the different demands than are the other organizations interviewed with the exception for the Social Democratic Party and the Communist Party.

We can also observe that there is a difference between the three trade unions. While both TCO and SACO say that the main task for the press is to examine the authorities critically the LO representatives mean that the most important thing is to inform the authorities about the wishes of the public. The second most important task is to inform the public about the decisions from the authorities says TCO while the other two, LO and SACO, say that the second most important thing is to explain and interpret different events in political life.

It is interesting to notice that the two tasks which LO consider that the press fulfills most dissatisfactorily are those which LO say are the most important ones. Here LO, and to some extent SACO, differ from other organizations. The others said that the tasks that were most dissatisfactorily fulfilled also were the two perceived as least important.

Who are to control the mass media in the future?

How will the influence over mass media look like in the future? Are local authorities, industries and organizations to be parts on the boards of the media companies? Considering the dissatisfaction expressed most clearly by LO it would be natural that at least that organization wants a change in the management of the press. 80 percent of the LO representatives think that other groups too should

be parts in the management. Of the TCO representatives, who have not shown the same dissatisfaction, 54 percent wants to have other groups in, while only a minority among the SACO representatives, or 39 percent want a change. The answers can of course depend on which groups we have mentioned in the question, and therefore we also asked which groups they themselves want to see in the boardrooms. In the table below I have put in the difference between those who want and those who do not want respective groups on the boards of the newspapers. As a contrast we have also asked about the local radio stations which are going to start in 1977 and are going to have a contract with the state that draws up the rules for this medium.

Table 4. The difference between the percentages of those who want and those who do not want other groups to be parts of the management of the press and the local radio.

	Newspaper			Local radio		
	LO	TCO	SACO	LO	TCO	SACO
Government agencies	+22	-36	-60	+5	-31	-47
Community authorities	+45	+2	-32	+63	+22	+32
Local industry	-15	-38	-21	-10	-20	-21
Local political party	+44	+13	-7	+43	+14	+14
Trade unions	+74	+29	+7	+62	+31	+36
Voluntary organizations	+18	+6	-18	+13	+11	+18

LO is positive to the representation of other groups with the exception of privat local industry, while SACO is negative with the exception of trade unions. TCO is negative to governmental and local authority involvement and to industry but is positive to the others though not as positive as LO.

If we compare these results with the attitudes to having different groups in the local radio companies, the trade unions are mainly more positive, especially when it comes to local groups. The only group viewed more negatively is the government which indicates that there is a certain fear of central administration.

That the trade unions are more positive to group representation in the local radio companies may be due to the fact that they view the local radio as a counterbalance to the local newspapers. It is clear that it is among the LO representatives we find the strongest wish for a change in direction mentioned above. It is also in the LO one can find the greatest dissatisfaction with present conditions. SACO on the other hand is the trade union which shows least will to change and TCO lies here, as in most of the questions, somewhere in between.

Summary

The introduction to description of how the trade unions view the mass media gives a brief picture of the material in which the trade unions are parties, mentioned or not, from the beginning of this century up to today. This material grew in volume over the period but it was not because of the material directly connected with the trade unions. On the contrary the Socialist papers have changed their news evaluation and the material connected with trade unions (read LO) has decreased over the period. In the Liberal press there is harder to notice any trends. One would suggest that the newspapers with regard to this sector of the society gets more alike even if of course they can view the material in different ways.

In the organization poll we can find great differences in the three trade unions' attitudes to the press. LO shows great dissatisfaction with local Liberal papers, while SACO expresses great dissatisfaction with local Socialist press. One can also see a certain suspicion in the fact that the trade unions show an unwillingness to take contact with the newspapers though they regard the papers as the most important way to bring out information to the public, about their opinions and ideas. It also seems that the bigger organization the more important one regards the press as a mean to inform the public, which is reasonable because it is no doubt the

cheapest alternative.

That the trade unions have difficulties in getting their material published in the press is shown by the fact that half of the respondents not have noticed any increase of the interest of the newspapers in these matters during the last years. About 43 percent say that there has been an increase. If however one compares this figures with the answers given by the other organizations interviewed which is 74 percent one must consider the conclusion reasonable.

The ideological closeness plays a great role in estimating the impact on public opinion of the local press. One can to a certain extent see that the closer the union is to a newspaper the bigger impact it is supposed to have and the more fair picture it gives of the trade union in question. But the impact of the newspapers also depends upon the situation, competition contra monopoly and big cities contra small towns.

It is obvious from the figures that LO considers the Socialist press more fair in their reporting than TCO does and above all than SACO does. The Liberal press is considered to be the most fair one by TCO, and then SACO, while LO consider it most unfair.

The trade unions in the smaller towns regard themselves as more favoured in this respect, whereas they are more critical in the big cities. This is probably because of what is happening in the trade unions is drowning in the amount of news in the big cities. In the smaller towns with not so many events, news about trade unions is regarded as "big" news.

The demands traditionally put upon the press, to inform about the decisions by the authorities and examine them critically, is considered by the trade unions as satisfactorily fulfilled. A view opposite the other organizations interviewed is held by LO and to a certain degree by SACO. LO means that the most important demand is

to bring the authorities the wishes from the public and to interpret and explain political events. These two demands are also according to LO the demands that are not satisfactorily fulfilled.

This dissatisfaction is also shown by the fact that the trade unions are positive to put other groups in the management of the press. With regard to the critics upon the fulfillment of important demands, difficulties in getting through the press with their opinions and ideas, unwillingness to take contact with the press and the positive view of letting other groups into the control of the press indicates that the newspaper lacks confidence on the local arena from a very important local elite.

To sum up, these first results indicate that the trade union consider the local press important at the same time as they are dissatisfied with the way it works. Most dissatisfaction is shown from the left wing, LO, which is also the greatest one. Most satisfaction is shown by the smallest and most politically right oriented, namely SACO, and somewhere in between we find TCO.

In Sweden there has been close connections between the newspapers and the political parties. I think this is one reason why they are so concentrated upon the political institutions and even local authorities. Organizations at the base of society, trade unions, voluntary and other organizations have a very small share of the newspaper material. I think as well as many of the trade union representatives that it is fair to say that the press is a mirror of what is going on in the top of society with an interplay among the political decisionmakers.

I will finally quote from a conference paper published by LO: "The most important task for the mass media is to strengthen and deepen our democracy. ... It demands active people, as well in the political parties as in popular movements and organisations. But without communication between citizens and decision makers there will be no results."

Appendix

Geographical regions in the study, some characteristics and daily newspapers published in the region.

POLITICAL STRUCTURE	
MEDIA STRUCTURE	SOCIALIST MAJORITY
	NON-SOCIALIST MAJORITY
Competition	<u>Malmö</u> (300 000 inh.)
	<u>Falun</u> (60 000 inh.)
	Sydsvenska Dagbladet (lib, 116 000 cop/day)
	Falu-Kuriren (lib, 32 000 cop/day)
Non-competition	Arbetet (soc, 105 000 cop/day)
	Dala-demokraten (soc, 26 000 cop/day)
	Skånska Dagbladet (Center Party, 32 000 cop/day)
	Mora Tidning (non pol, 13 000 cop/day)
	Kvällsposten (evening paper, lib, 108 000 cop/day)
	<u>Västerås</u> (137 000 inh.)
	<u>Göteborg</u> (485 000 inh.)
	Västmanlands Läns Tidning (lib, 56 000 cop/day)
	Göteborgs-Posten (lib, 300 000 cop/day)
	Västmanlands Folkblad (weekly, soc 5 800 cop/day)
	Göteborgs-Tidningen (evening paper, lib, 80 000 cop/day)
	Arbetet (special edition, soc, 11 100 cop/day)

The questions used for this paper:

Question 10. When informing the members of your organization - how often do you use the following ways of contact ?

Question 18. An organization may have many ways of disseminating information to the general public. When answering this question we ask you to consider how important the enumerated channels are in your organization's information to the general public in your commune ?

Question 20. Press contacts may be administered in different ways. We have listed a few such ways. How often do you use each of those for the contacts between yourself and the newspaper editorial offices ?

Question 24. As regards mass media and their way of treating ideas and opinions that your organization represents (as well as your sister organizations in other communes and on the national level) - how just a picture, in your opinion, is presented by the different newspapers within your region ?

Question 26. When it comes to creating a public interest in different social issues in your commune - how do you assess the impact of the following newspapers ?

Question 28. As regards mass media and their interest to inform about ideas and opinions that your organization represents - have you noticed any difference if you compare the situation of today with the situation five to ten years ago ?

Question 29. As regards to the general public and its interest in ideas and opinions that your organization represents - have you noticed any difference if you compare the situation of today with the situation five to ten years ago ?

Question 33. There have been discussions as to how the influence over mass media is to be shaped in the future. One system which has been applied abroad is that local authorities, enterprises and organizations together are represented on the boards of directors of mass media. Do you think any similar system should be introduced in Sweden ?